regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) **16**: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* **1**: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities, small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes ——— in lieu of the death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

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3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

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He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

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2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

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3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū[b] sect on the mainland and this would

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[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

After the Bakufu intervened, more and more of the Kunashiri Ezo remained on their own island to fish, and the population which had been some 300 in 1799 increased to over 530 by 1801.[22] This situation did not, as we shall see later, mean that the Ezo were better off, since it only helped their masters to accelerate the destruction of those natural resources upon which the Ezo depended for their livelihood; yet it does serve as a proof that better treatment of the Ezo brought about an improvement in industry. Farming was also encouraged by the Bakufu where the Matsumae had discouraged it. Indeed, in some *Basho* it had been entirely prohibited since it required work during the fishing season. Even after the Bakufu took over the islands the economy was based on hunting and fishing and, since these products were abundant, there was no need to farm. But the popular Japanese belief of the time was that eating meat was barbaric and eating cereals was civilized, and therefore it was felt that a change in the eating habits of the Ezo would be a step toward assimilation.[23] In order to encourage farming, crops were raised near the agency as an example and the Ezo were urged to take an interest.[24] They were also constantly indoctrinated in the view that living on cereals was far superior to living on meat. According to a report made by Aoyagi Teiichi in 1799, farming implements and seed were given to the Ezo at Shamani at their own request. While it seems that the crops grown by the *Kaihō* did not turn out satisfactorily,[25] it was not this that eventually dampened the Bakufu's enthusiasm for agriculture but the growing opinion which held that if you changed the Ezo to farmers and the experiment did not result satisfactorily you would have a famine.[26] Mulling this over the Bakufu abandoned its positive attitude toward farming in 1802. Actually it seems that the real reason the government changed its mind was that it did not favor anything which required more of a labor force than did hunting

[22] Kunashiri to ittai no yosu moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the general situation in and around Kunashiri Island) in *SHS* 5: 800.

[23] "Methods of cultivation shall be taught gradually so that they will learn to live on cereals. They shall also be educated so as to be accustomed to the laws of Japan." Ezochi goyō shui shihaimuki ei moshiwatasare sōrō kakitori (Notes on instructions to managers on the occasion of Ezo becoming a Bakufu domain), Suppl. 8 of *Kyumei Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 800.

[24] "Care shall be exercised in encouraging the Ezo to take up cultivation. For the time being our retainers and servants shall set an example, near their lodgings, by tilling the land so that the Ezo will gradually become interested in the work." *Ibid.* 5: 558.

[25] "According to instructions small patches of land have been put into cultivation in Urakawa, Harato, and Shamani where fairly good results were had on soy beans, Indian beans, millet, barnyard grass, sesame, red saffron, hemp, upland rice, barley, eggplant, squash, radishes, vegetables, and cowpea. The results from red saffron and hemp were especially good." *Ibid.* 5: 565.

[26] "Mumei no gososhō ittashi sōrō mono kore ari osage ni ainaru gotōsho no ikken," *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 2 in *SHS* 5: 601.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat [54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri* [55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786-787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

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were not at all bad and we ought to bear with them in patience and not rage about them. "For," said he, "consider their origin. They came down from above and so are really heavenly insects." "But how so?" I inquired, and he replied by citing the following story about their descent to this earth. "In the beginning fleas dwelt upon the body of the god of thunder; and as the body of this god itched very much one day, he scratched it and shook himself. Then many fleas dropped upon this earth, where they now dwell. And so it always happens that whenever it thunders these insects hop about much and are very lively."

Think of this, reader! Wonders will never cease! I had got thus far with my writing when I picked up a Japanese newspaper in which I was informed that some local authority in the south of Japan would pay two rin for every flea caught and taken in to the proper authority. This means, say, one farthing for five fleas. They should apply to the god of thunder, surely, and so make certain of a good paying living.

For food, as I had brought nothing with me, the chief's wife fed me on millet (for she had no rice), potatoes, cabbage stew, beans and what I could procure with my gun. There was no meat to be had, and the village had no chickens at all, so that eggs were not procurable. Now and again I got a piece of salmon, but this had to be eaten almost in secret, as the people were not then allowed to catch fish in the river. Once I got a small bit of dried venison, which was so tough that I could only make soup of it. But it was very good. Deer killing had been forbidden, as these animals were becoming scarce, so that I had to eat it "on the sly." One day the chief managed to get me a couple of hen's eggs from somewhere. On handing them to his wife to cook for me I saw that she wrapped each up in a big leaf, gave them a sharp tap on one end, and then put them in the hot ashes on the hearth. After a time she poked them out with the fire tongs,

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shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked. And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told me it was to prevent them from bursting.

The food question being a somewhat important one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we could not manage to put up a small chicken house and keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal, so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds, which we put into the little place. All went well for the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This went on for several days and I made up my mind to sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his head in from the outside right over the nest. I shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning I waited very quietly outside at the back and when the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg. After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following information. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very cunning demons."

Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

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them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"! 117

During the summer months the women had perhaps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to take up their time. There was the weeding to be attended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manufacturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quickly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium Glenni*). After washing and boiling well, the arrow-root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food. 512 221 562 462 242 243 244 222 262 251 252

These people had no agricultural implements to speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But 242 829

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'school' must have contained not less than 30,000 individuals. During the winter the exact localities these creatures frequent is not known, but it is probable that many of them are in the ocean off the coast of Japan . . . . . Yezo fishermen, during the winter months, capture a few hundred of these animals off the south coast." But nowadays one very seldom sees a seal in these parts; they appear to have been nearly exterminated.

As for land animals, Hokkaidō abounded in them, and meat was plentiful. Bear flesh, venison, racoon, foxes and hares were abundant, and the people were well fed. The skins of all these animals were bartered to the Japanese and Manchurians for lacquerware vessels, earthenware, iron pots, clothing material, cottons, old swords, Manchurian garments, earrings, beads and so forth. Sometimes one comes across Manchurian pipes, rings, and cash used as ornaments. All these, as well as rice and *saké*, were procured by bartering fish, deer's horns, and skins for them. Besides meat procured by hunting, there were plenty of duck, wild geese, swans, tree grouse, woodcock and many other kinds of birds, all of which were used as food. So that the people were not badly off.

At the time I am now writing of, there were very few bridges over the rivers and not a foot of railway was yet laid. We travelled for the most part on pack horses, and were ferried across the rivers—horses, packs and all. One day my horse, packs and I all went under water, the horse having jumped out of the boat with me on his back. Fortunately there was a Japanese inn on the other side, to which I went to dry myself and goods and get a meal. It was a very nice luncheon. When I had finished I said to the boy who waited on me, "That was a very nice woodcock you gave me, but how did you get it this time of year?" "Oh," said he, "that was not a woodcock but a chicken." "What," I replied, "do you mean to tell me that

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you kill such little chickens as that for food?" "Oh, no, Sir," said he. "It died yesterday!"

The foregoing little incident reminds me of another one of a somewhat similar nature. I had not been long in Hakodate before I set up housekeeping. My cook, housekeeper and general factotum was a Japanese man aged forty. Although a very good fellow, I found out later that he was very busy "feathering his own nest." One day he came to me and said, "I think, sir, it would be well if you were to have chicken today for dinner." "But why, cook?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "one of the hens is quite sick and cannot live many hours longer. I think it would be best to kill it at once before it is too late. It will make you a fine dinner, Sir." "No, thank you, cook; you may have it." And he really did kill and carry it home, where he cooked it and he and his family ate it up. Well, he is dead now, and I can only say, "Peace be to his hashes!"

I know of one district by the sea where the people are very fond of turtle soup. Sometimes when the fishermen go far out to sea to fish, they bring back a turtle or two which they catch on the surface of the water. These they kill and feast on. I am told that the stews they make of them are fine eating. That may be so, but having seen and smelt the mixture once, I could never thereafter bring myself to taste it. Three years ago one of these creatures found its way ashore at Usu. The people soon caught it. It was quite a big one and they were delighted with their capture. But, instead of killing it, the Japanese and Ainu combined in giving it a large quantity of *saké* to drink and then sending it adrift again. The Ainu worshipped it and offered it fetish shavings before parting with it. Such a procedure is said to bring great good fortune.

Hokkaidō abounds in fruit of kinds. There are raspberries of several varieties which are very good

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eating. And strawberries also are to be found. There is a rich abundance of wild grapes and, although these are very sour, the people and the bears relish them much. They are not preserved in any way but are gathered and eaten when in season, or before. Mulberries of a small kind are plentiful in some localities and are very sweet. These and the raspberries make good jam. The blueberry, also, is found in some places. An edible kind of actinidia abounds, and this fruit, eaten in moderation, is most palatable. Bears are inordinately fond of it. Thus, then, it will be seen that the Ainu, excepting in times of famine, never lacked plenty of food to eat. I used to pay a shilling for a big salmon; for a salmon-trout fourpence; for a hare threepence; for a tree grouse twopence. A bag of rice cost two shillings.

The stem and leaves of the mugwort (*Artemisia*) were also used for food in the early spring when very young. They were taken and first boiled, then pounded in a mortar, and after that made into cakes and dried for future consumption. A good deal, however, was eaten at once, pounded with millet or rice. It is said to have been very nutritious and to be of itself quite sufficient to sustain life and keep the body in a healthy condition. It had a very sweet flavour and the people were remarkably fond of it. It is said that in olden times the Ainu lived much on this herb, and that it has been the means of keeping many alive throughout more than one famine.

Sometimes the people used to boil, peel and pound chestnuts and eat them with fish eggs. The roe and nuts were pounded together and then boiled. Sometimes animal fat was also added, and this made a very rich though indigestible dish. Sometimes it was eaten without being cooked, but as a rule it was made into cakes and toasted. I found this concoction not at all bad on occasion after a good day of tramping it. The people are extremely fond of fresh salmon roe. They

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161 628 In considering the causes of this decrease, there are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 161 Then, there are now two and a half millions of Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so [562] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is 161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in- [582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good [165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the 842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese [144 themselves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing 762] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

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to the house and to work, preparing a *special dish. I filled the pounding trough to the brim with the dough.'

"'As soon as I left the house that morning to go and dig up the bulbs, my husbands (plural) went off to catch seals. Presently they returned loaded with a fine catch. Every day up till this time I had taken the wet shoes from my husbands when they came in and hung them up to dry for them, but today I did not approach them when they arrived. As I was giving my sole attention to the special dish I was preparing, I made no attempt that day to take and hang up my husbands' wet shoes. My younger sister cooked their meat by herself and gave them to eat. Besides those belonging to the house, the neighbours also were invited to come and eat with them.**

"'By the time they had partaken of the meat and had eaten it all up, I had finished making the special food and had filled many bowls with it. These I handed round to all present and they partook of this also. When the feast was over, the guests returned to their homes. Our family then retired to their sleeping places, but I myself kept all my clothes on, buckled on my belt, and thus lay down by the hearth. I did not go to bed.

"'One of my husbands soon went to sleep but the other found he could not rest, so came over and sat down by my side. He urged me with sweet words to retire to rest, but I would not do so. (*She was attired for a journey and prepared to set out at a moment's notice*). He soon left me and went off again to his bed, where he slept till morning, leaving me as I was.

*The special dish would consist of bulbs and roots of various kinds and berries mashed up together. It was regarded as a special delicacy and was often given to speed the parting guest.

**It was a custom among the Ainu to invite their friends in to eat some of the good things they might happen to have come by, and some was also sent in to friends who could not be present.

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE BEAR FESTIVAL

I have already written on the subject of rearing bear cubs and shown how these poor little beasts are kept in cages, where they are well fed, often worshipped, and at last baited, killed and eaten at the bear festival. And I have also cited a short prayer said by some of the men at the time of the killing. 527 231

The ceremonies connected with the bear festival are interesting in some respects, but when I saw one performed for the first time, I must confess that I received a bad shock and took an immediate dislike to the whole thing. It was by no means an uplifting spectacle, and the very name of it still sends a cold thrill through my person. I do not like to see the men and women beastly intoxicated. It is not pleasant to look upon the wild eyes and flushed faces of the dancing and singing guests. At one part of the ceremony, the men not only drink the warm blood of the slain animal, but also besmear their beards with some of it. The sight is indescribable, for it gives them a debauched, unclean, fierce, and fiendish appearance. [562]

In describing this festival I think I cannot do better than give a translation of an account an Ainu wrote out for me in the year 1888, and comment thereon. He told me in the course of a conversation that before the festival takes places a verbal invitation is sent far and wide to the people, something after this fashion. [114]

"I, So-and-So, am about to send away the dear little divine one whose home is among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast and we

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be wise to pass remarks them or ask any questions, so I carefully took stock and bided the time when a more appropriate occasion should present itself. When I did at last make inquiries, I picked up a good deal of curious information, besides that which may be found mentioned in the last chapter. 825 527

"The Ainu believe that otters, like other animals, have power to possess people. Should they do so, loss of memory is the sure result. And so a very forgetful person is said to be "possessed by an otter." When the people find any fish which have been killed by otters, they carry them home and use them for food. But when they eat such fish, or partake of otter flesh, special prayers must be said to the Goddess of Fire, asking her to protect them from the machinations of evilly disposed otters. While eating them, all must carefully tie a carrying cord round their heads. This is to prevent the spirit of the otter from entering the brain, which is the seat of the memory. Should a person neglect to wear one of these cords while eating of these creatures, he will be possessed by one, so that the next time he goes to the garden to work or mountains to hunt, he is bound to forget his knife, axe, hoe or some other tool." Such was the story told me. It was this feast I happened upon at the time I am writing of. And I am very glad to have witnessed it.

A man told me to be extremely careful always about eating the head of an otter, for in partaking of such any person renders himself specially liable to the otter's curse and if it falls on one, complete loss of memory is the result. The following is the legend he told me about it. 753

"The otter's head must not be lightly used as food, for if people are not careful they will, if they eat of it, become as forgetful as that animal. Hence it happens that when an otter has been killed, the people do not usually eat the head. But if they should be seized with a strong desire to partake thereof at a feast, they 262

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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262 may do so provided they take proper precautions. When eating it they must take their swords, knives, axes, bows and arrows, tobacco boxes and pipe trays, [264 527] cups, garden tools and everything they possess, tie them up in carrying slings and sit with them attached to their heads while eating. In no other way may the head be feasted on. If this instruction be carefully carried out, there will be no danger of forgetting where anything has been placed. Otherwise loss of memory will be the result."

And then, to wind up his information, the man gave me this example to digest.

539 "The otter forgets very much and very quickly; his memory can not be relied on at all, for it always fails him. One day he spent much time at sharpening his sword, and when he had finished doing so he buckled it on and went fishing. By-and-by he came upon a whale, which he attacked furiously. He jumped upon it and bit it with all his might, but, as the skin was very tough, he could make no impression whatever. His teeth would not enter but glanced off the skin at every bite. He laboured thus, scratching and biting for a long time, and only got very tired for his pains. Thereupon some Ainu, who were standing upon the shore, roared with laughter and jeered at him, saying, "O you Divine One, why do you not attack the whale with the sword you have at your side?" The otter, being thus brought to himself, remembered that he had a sword upon his thigh. So he drew it and very soon dispatched the creature. Thus we see how the otter was cursed by God for his original sin of forgetfulness." By what has now been written it will easily be understood that when one Ainu calls another "Otter-head," he means a great deal by it.

262 278 These matters are most strange. And it is very curious to learn that, although the meat and head of this animal eaten cooked are supposed to have such adverse magical effects, the dried heart is said to be a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

221 226 262 231 251

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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very powerful remedy against certain ailments. A little of it cut up very fine and taken in warm water cures pains in the stomach, and if some is set on a stick by the hearth it drives away the demon of disease! Such, I was told, is the Ainu belief. 262 278

I have heard one or two other bad names, in addition to "Otter Head," used at times, each of which carries its own little sting in it. Thus, "Crook-back" is applied to poor, stooping, weakly people at times, and also to lazy, worthless folk. It refers to the human backbone, the original one being supposed to have been made of willow wood which bends down when growing old. One man I heard called a "mangy old deer;" and a very haughty young dude was dubbed by a lady whom he had offended, a "little hairless creature," i.e. "neither man nor boy" or perhaps "unfledged creature," "leather-like," or "beardless one." 551

These are curious and interesting names, all of them, and they carry little or much according to the tone of voice and the message flashed at one by the eye. I heard one burly man, who had called up the ire of a woman, called by her in her wrath, a "man-eater bear," and this made him quite angry.

I have heard people called *Toikchunra*, which is the name given to black, evil demons. With reference to these beings, the following legend was recited to me:—

"God used six stone axes when he made the world. It took Him a very long time to accomplish his task, but it was finished at last. When all was done, He had no more use for the axes, so He cast them into a valley among the mountains and went back to His home in Heaven. Here they lay for many years till they became quite rotten and worn away with the running water. As this water was tainted by the stone and became foul, all kinds of diseases, particularly colds and consumption, arose out of it. Moreover, all the demon-elves of the land and fresh waters have their origin in this water. Some of this putrified 539

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER XXXIV

A FIGHT WITH A MARINE DEMON

That many animals and birds were from of old first worshipped by the Ainu and then killed and eaten with due ceremony, and had libations of *saké* offered them and drunk in their honour, and fetishes of wood made for and set before them, has already been mentioned. Many kinds of fish, too, were treated to special worship, as were also the gods and demons of the sea. In travelling along the coasts of Hokkaidō, even today, many clusters of fetishes may be seen where the Ainu push off their boats to go out fishing.

These fetishes are simply shaved sticks with the shavings left attached and depending from the top, and lifted up on high by being tied to poles. These are in some cases offerings and signs of prayer to the sea gods, that is to say, to the fish and marine animals. In some instances they are set up simply as propitiatory offerings. Some are to the sun, and others are to the wind and weather sprites. And thus we find religion and superstition, like the Siamese twins, ever together.

One day, now many years ago, we went to a seaside place called Shiraoi. We took a magic lantern with us, as I intended to give an exhibition that evening. Arrangements were made to have the show in the chief's large hut, and due preparations were made. Toward evening we found it would be imposaible to get the people together, because a large number of the men, who had gone far out to sea in their boats early in the morning in order to spear sword-fish, had not re-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although fish and marine animals constituted the staple food, as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she was quite a small child she took her father's bow and arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she discovered feeding near her home. Her brother's name was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when selecting sites for their villages. The first thing they considered was the question of good drinking water. They would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of very cold water I have ever come across. The next thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along the banks of which, but not too near, they built their homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have sometimes occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be said at every stage of its production. He told me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER LI

ON CATCHING FISH

The Ainu were formerly great fish eaters; in fact, fish was their staple food—their "staff of life." The general name for "fish" is *chep*, sometimes heard as *chi-ep*, and this means "what we eat." The large autumn salmon, which they call *shibe*, is a very fine fish and sometimes goes up in weight to 40 pounds. It used to be very plentiful. The summer salmon, which enters the rivers in June, was also much eaten and was also very plentiful during the season. The fish were taken sometimes by netting and sometimes by spearing, and, during the winter months, with hook and line dangled through holes made in the ice. Both along the sea coasts and the banks of rivers, the men set torches to attract the fish during the night and also held some torches over the holes in the ice. In this way they took many.

A MAREK OR FISH SPEAR

No. (1) is the iron hook. It is so fixed to the end of the shaft (2) that when a fish is struck with it the point enters the flesh and is drawn over. The more the creature struggles, the tighter the hook holds. No. (3) is the skin thong which fixes the hook to the shaft.

Fishing along the shallow places of the sea coast in the north was extremely interesting when trained dogs were used. The process was as follows. Several

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to them, which was drawn along the bottom of the streams and rivers, and which the fish would some times follow and so be caught.

778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed, however, that some of these fish were looked upon as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were shedding their scales immediately before death. They were named *tenki-sei-chep*, which Penri said meant "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
● 262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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226
mer were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So 251
dried, I did not think them good eating. 262

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and 226
small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, 776
and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men.

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I some- 115
times found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend."

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose 539
property there passed a fine river which always 226
abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 226 is the perfect number) big storehouses. The people of the surrounding districts, hearing of this, went to him and purchased food. Every year they brought many precious things, among which were fine swords, and with them traded by way of barter. And so this gentleman became very rich.

"Thus did he live and prosper. One year, however, not a single fish ascended his river. As it happened, he had some left over from the previous year, stored in his six godowns. But alas, all there was quickly came to an end.

"One day he went to one of his lakes near, to try angling, but he got no bites. After a long time, thinking it would be useless to try any longer, he was about to start off home disappointed, when at that very moment he felt a fish bite at his bait. With great joy he pulled up the line, and, behold, there was a fine fish on the hook. 'Pull me up at once; be quick, be quick!' said the fish. 'Haul in faster; yet faster!' it said. So he quickly dragged the fish right up to the ice hole. As soon as he had pulled him on to the ice he gave him a sharp knock on his head. Then the fish said,

" 'O Sir, be quick and whack me on my head. Be quick and strike hard and fast. Come, make haste and eat me up.' So, after beating him well he killed him. When he was quite dead, the fish said, 'O Sir, make haste and squeeze me; press me hard; eat me at once; eat fast.' Looking at what he had caught he found it to be a fine silverfish.

[136 252 262] (The Ainu name for the silverfish is *inumbe-ibe* and it is *Trichiurus japonicus* Tem. et Schlegal. The Ainu name means 'squeezed food.' This is because it is eaten raw, having been first well beaten and squeezed.)

"Seeing what it was, the gentleman thought thus within himself: 'Here I have lived and fished for many years and have always had plenty of sport. There has been abundance to eat and much to spare. Now, hav-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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492 shoulders quite out of sight. My man glided like lightning off his horse and hurriedly pulled my pony over so as to allow him to free his neck. He told me that had he not done so at once, it would have been broken. Parapita went up in my estimation a hundred per cent, and I escaped with a live horse and but a few bruises for either of us. But I must admit that the poor beast looked as much astonished as I felt.

To give a full account of all the incidents I have met with on my journeyings among the Ainu would require a volume, but I only propose at present to touch on such as are concerned with this one outing.

824 137 The Ainu are great botanists and I found Parapita's knowledge of plant names quite extensive. On hearing some of them, I was much struck by their aptness. One day on passing through a place where hawthorn trees abounded and coming into close contact with some of their thorns, I asked him what these noxious bushes were called in his language. I spoke somewhat impatiently, I am afraid, for I did not like to get either my clothes torn or limbs scratched among them. He told me they were called *Abe-ni*. This means, he said, 'tree with harpoon bait" or "decoy." This puzzled me a bit till he explained that the pomes hanging from the branches at the end of the stems very closely resemble the "baits" or "decoys" the Ainu make to draw along the bottoms of rivers behind the fish-spears used for securing some kinds of fishes, particularly pike and trout. And truly the resemblance is remarkable. The botanical name of the hawthorn is *Crataegus jozana, C.K. Sch.* The pomes are black, fat, and juicy. The people eat them with great relish.

[262]

Soon we passed through big patches of very tall plants having broad leaves on the ends of hollow stems. He told me these were called in Ainu *Koroko-ni*.. This turns out to be the *Petasites japonicus, Miq.* I asked my friend further about this plant and he told me that the hollow stems are called by a word which means a 'set-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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up-throat,' that is 'hollow. They are so named, he said, because they resemble the human throat, being hollow. Continuing our conversation, I got hold of a quite new and interesting phrase. It was, *iwen hut koro guru*, which, being interpreted, is "a person with six throats." When it is remembered that six is the perfect number among this race, one is not at all surprised to learn that the phrase is intended to designate "a perfect liar." I listened to this, wondered, and was much amused.

Having one evening reached a certain village, I lodged with the chief, an old friend with whom I had stayed many times before. About midnight a cat began to caterwaul atrociously just outside the reed wall, close to my head. Sleep I could not. At last, in despair, I roared out to no one in particular, "Oh, do shoot that cat!" Shortly afterwards there came a terrific 'bang' not far from my ears, just outside the hut. The poor cat had met with an accident from which it never recovered. The chief had shot it! Thenceforth I was very careful as to what orders I gave the people.

I had a plate with three artificial teeth to it. Those teeth were resting in a cup of water by my side, as it happened, in the same hut as that in which the cat incident occurred. In the morning, when I awoke, both water and teeth were gone and neither I nor my man could find them. That same afternoon the chief came up to our stopping place a few villages away, mysteriously carrying something carefully in his hand, wrapped up in a leaf. Said he, "I think this must be yours, Sir." I took the leaf and there were the missing teeth nestling inside. "Where did you get these from?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "I found them close to a rat hole near where you slept last night."

At a village in which we spent the night among well-known friends, a little girl brought me a nice tray of boiled chestnuts as a present from her mother. Their jackets had been taken off, so that we were able

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

As we were passing through a certain village, a woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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539 which are acceptable to the gods, and so the land is
825 prosperous. He has also been very kind to me. If
789 my brothers do as they have determined to do, he will be very much grieved and inconvenienced.' I lay and thought much on the matter.

"Now, one evening, my brothers started out to do as they said. As soon as they were outside, I followed. I ran through the forest as fast as I could and came to the house before them. Before entering, I turned myself into the exact form of the master and then went in and sat down at the head of the hearth. The mistress soon came and sat in her place beside me. Then I said, 'I am the youngest brother of six little foxes. My five brothers, who are even now on their way hither, are coming to steal away your soul in the absence of your husband. I am very sorry for this
● [262] and am come to help you. When these men arrive, give them some hard fish roe and seaweed to eat; you will then discover whether they are true men or really foxes.' They very soon came along, and the five all entered the house one after the other, and sat down. They did not know me because I had assumed the form of the master, and I closely imitated his manner, the mistress being seated beside me. Presently, when the salutations were over, the lady cooked some hard fish-roe and seaweed together and gave all of them some to eat. I also ate with them. When I had finished I drew my little knife, sharpened a stick nicely, and then began to pick my teeth with it. But I watched the five men and could hardly restrain myself when I saw them lift up their hind feet and scrape their teeth with their claws.*

*It should be remarked that fish-roe boiled with seaweed is a most glutinous food, and adheres to the teeth very tenaciously. One *must* pick his teeth after eating it. Lifting up their feet to their mouths showed them to be foxes and not men, as they wished the woman to think.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 69, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 251 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

[241] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rosa*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at [177] present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[415] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The peculiar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainos, as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [283]

Fish skins.—Two pieces, used for making shoes. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150725

Wooden spoons.—Shaped like spatulas, carved on the upper surface. Like 150723, but smaller. Used by women. Length, 6 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150726

Large wooden spatula.—Used as a spoon or ladle to dish out food. Length, 17 inches; width of blade, 3 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150727

Wooden pipe.—A short pipe with stem carved. Length, 9 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78.) 150728

Knife and case.—The blade of Japanese manufacture. The carved case made by the Ainos. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150729

Two knife cases.—Well carved in peculiar designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 76.) 150731

[42]

Wooden mallet.—Formed of a branch and a portion of the main stem, which together make a naturally shaped hammer. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150732

Wooden pipes.—Usual form. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78) 150733, 150734

[30]

Bead necklace.—Made of colored glass beads and five larger hollow metal beads in the middle. Made by Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150736

Small loom.—Used for weaving the narrow belts of ohiyo bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150737

Bark for mats.—Elm bark, ohiyo, colored brown and black for weaving the square patterns of mats, bags, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150738

Shikeribikina.—Leaves of a plant dried and preserved for food. Botanical name unknown. Used in stews. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150739

Salmon roe.—Dried fish roe, as preserved for winter food. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150740

126 251 262

Dried cakes of lily root.—Two cakes about 9½ inches in diameter by ¾ of an inch thick with a hole through the middle, tied together with strips of bark. The lily is probably the *uba-yuri* of the Japanese. Such cakes of various sizes are to be seen hanging in every house throughout Yezo, becoming thoroughly dried and seasoned by the smoke and hardened. (See also 150789.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150741

Cakes of lily root.—Similar to 150741, but smaller. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150742

String of lily root.—Dried bulbs of the lily on strings. A very common article of food to be seen suspended in the houses throughout Yezo. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150744

Nuts.—The fruits of *Trapa bicornis*. Used for food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150743

String of fruits.—Not identified, bulbels of inflorescence from some monocotyledonous plant. Used for food. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150746

Flour.—Prepared from some starch-bearing root. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150745

Dried herrings.—The fish are roughly cleaned and suspended from the beams of the houses until dried and smoked. Used for winter food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150748

Slices of pumpkin, dried.—Not a common food among the Ainos. The pumpkin is now cultivated in the valley of Saru. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150749

Pukusa.—A kind of food; apparently the stalks of a plant, cut in small pieces. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150751

Pukusakina.—The leaves and stems of a plant belonging to the Ranunculaceæ. Used for food. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150752

Beans.—Not common in Yezo. Varieties grown in the Saru Valley. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150753

Strips of bark.—Used for making the colored parts of mats. Probably from the *Tilia cordata*. (See No. 150638.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150754

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Stalks of the rush.—Stalks of *Scirpus maritimus*; used for weaving mats. (See No. 150638.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150756

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a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

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I consider this to be the original cause why this artistic insight is to be found even among the lowest classes. The Ainu have no such insight; they have no characters, no writing of any kind, no books, and it is therefore not astonishing that they are not trained to understand art, bad as it may have been in my case. Their appreciation of lines is yet in the rudest form, and they possess no more than what is instinctive with them. For instance, while I was sketching, Benry and his friend either sat or crouched down by my side like two dogs, and when my sketch was finished I showed it to them.

"Pirika, Pirika! Nishpa!" ("Very pretty, very pretty, sir!") Benry exclaimed with perfect self-assurance; but when I asked him what he thought the sketch represented, he cut me short by saying that *I* had done the picture and *I* ought to know what it was meant for; he did not. His friend agreed with him.

When my work was done we three walked back to Benry's house, my two Ainu friends being very anxious that I should get something to eat. From their conversation and gestures I caught that it seemed incomprehensible to them that I should sit in front of an Ainu hut and—to use their expression—"make all sorts of signs on a wooden panel." After a lengthy discussion the two came to the conclusion that houses in our country were so bad that I had been sent to the Ainu country to "copy" the pattern of Ainu huts!

Benry seemed excited about something, and hurried us back with curious haste and eagerness. When we left the house in the morning I saw Benry's better-half placing a few eggs in water to boil over the fire. When we entered the hut, nearly two hours afterwards, the eggs were still boiling, and no fair maid within yelling reach. In order that the fire might not go out during her absence the thoughtful girl had placed the largest portion of the trunk of a tree in the fireplace!

Taken altogether, Benry and all his Saru Ainu are very good-natured. They gradually got accustomed to being sketched, seeing that after all it really did not bring on them "immediate death."

The more one sees of the Ainu the dirtier they appear, but as dirt to a great extent contributes to picturesqueness, I was

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apparently thought that I had gone to sleep, for I heard him creep to my side. I could not see him, being in absolute darkness, but though he was evidently holding his breath, I could feel the warmth of his face near mine. He was listening to hear if I were asleep. I kept quiet, and pretended to snore. This gave him courage, and sliding his hand gently along my arm, he came to a pocket in my coat. He began to explore it—but the Ainu are an unfortunate people even when they try to steal. He had got hold of a pocket with no bottom to it—a common occurrence in my coats. The more he explored, the more he found there was to explore. I am fond myself of explorations, and I have no objection to a fellow-being, hairy or not hairy, "prospecting" my empty pockets or my pockets which have no bottom to them. However, my host was not satisfied with the first results of his researches, and with his hand still through the torn lining of the coat-pocket proceeded to investigate the contents of my waistcoat pockets. This was a different matter altogether, and catching hold of him before he was able to disentangle himself, I swung his arm away and hit him hard on the head with my right fist.

"Wooi!" cried he in despair, and half stunned, as he scrambled away as best he could to his north-east corner. By way of apology and excuse, and with a trembling voice, the man from his corner said that he had only come to sleep on my side of the hut, as the wind was blowing strong where he had lain down, and that my side was warmer. A good excuse indeed when you are caught *flagrante delicto* pickpocketing!

The salmon which my host gave me last night for dinner and this morning for breakfast was so rotten, that, hungry as I was, I could not eat it. From Yammakka, in a westerly direction, the way begins with a gentle incline; therefore there is a complete absence of the high and troublesome reeds which I had found in the vast marshy plain I had crossed on my way here from the coast. I intended pushing on to Frishikobets, a larger village some miles off. The old scoundrel wanted to accompany me part of the way, saying that there were two dangerous rivers to cross, and he would show me where to wade them. I fancied that they were as dangerous as they were imaginary, and I started off declining his offer.

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rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

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—the Notoro-ko. The Abashiri Lake finds an outlet in a river which goes by the same name of, and falls into the pretty Bay of Abashiri; but the Notoro-ko, as well as the larger lagoon of Saruma-ko, which one comes upon after having passed the two villages of Tukoro and Tobuts, open directly into the sea. The strong current and the tide often block the entrance of these lagoons, and the rising water finds an outlet in a different spot. These lagoons are separated from the sea by a long and narrow strip of sand-hill; and crossing the outlet always involves great danger if the unwary traveller does not choose the right moment. The tide creating a great inequality of level between the sea and the lake, it follows that at the opening of the lagoon the water either throws itself from the sea into the lagoon, or *vice versâ*, according to the ebb or flow, and makes a kind of whirlpool. The Saruma Lake being much larger than any of the others, while its mouth is much smaller, and underlaid with quicksands, the danger is even greater, and the safest way is always to get across in a boat at slack water. The Saruma Lake is about fifteen miles in length and from two to three miles wide. Its water is salt, and large oyster-banks are found in it. It is also a favourite resort for seal and mallard. In winter they can be killed in great numbers, but in the warmer months they are shy, and very difficult to approach. The south-western shore of the lake is thickly wooded, and has as a background a long range of high mountains with smaller mountains in front of it.

At Tobuts, a small village of a few huts, situated at the mouth of the Saruma lagoon, I halted for the night. There was a change in my diet that day, and I was entertained, or rather I entertained myself, to an oyster supper. They were enormous oysters, similar to those found at Akkeshi, but not very palatable. However, I was in luck that day, and not only did I have this oyster supper, but I actually was the hero of a tender little idyll. In this country surprises never come alone, and while I was sketching in the twilight to pass away the time, a tall slim figure of a girl came out of one of the huts. She had slipped her arms out of her robe, leaving the latter to hang from the girdle, and her breasts, arms, and the lower half of her legs were uncovered. She was pretty and quaint with her tattooed arms and a semicircular black

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feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.

BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

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they find on the mountains. Metallurgy is utterly unknown to the Ainu. Until of late years they possessed nothing made of metal. Their arrows had bamboo or bone heads; tin or iron cooking utensils they had none; and the blades of their knives were and are of Japanese origin. Some of these blades are very old, and were acquired by the Ainu in the battles which they fought against the Japanese; others have been got by barter-metal exchanged for skins of animals.

Furthermore, save the weaving-loom, the Ainu possess no machinery of their own make. This too, as we have seen, is but a very rude and simple kind of machine. The application of wind or water power to economise human labour is in no way known to them; thus they have no windlasses, no pumps, no bellows, no windmills, no waterwheels; neither have they any signs of the rudest form of machinery moved by manual power which they have imagined and made for themselves. Furthermore, they are very loth to accept those mechanical means of economising labour which are employed by their neighbours the Japanese.

The Ainu are very conservative, little as they may have to preserve. They show a great dislike to change or reform their habits and customs, or to improve themselves in any way. Worse they could certainly not be. They have no ancestral attachment which makes them unwilling to discard their rude practices for more civilised ways; but, acting according to their instincts, and not by their intelligence, they preserve customs which seem inconvenient and unpractical to us, which habit has rendered familiar and pleasant to them.

Various natives in other parts of the world show signs of an earlier state of civilisation, but the Ainu do not. They have never had a past civilisation, they are not civilised now, and what is more, they will never be civilised. Civilisation kills them. As a hog delights in filth, so the Ainu can only live in dirt, neglect, and savagery of personal habits. They are made that way, and they cannot help it. They are excluded from progress by an impassable barrier. They have many miseries in their life, but no greater misery could befall an Ainu than to be forced to lead a civilised existence. Even after they have been educated in Japanese schools, when they return home, in a short time they forget all they have learned, and

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HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [845] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

343 Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 825 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

[462] The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

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HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

[778] [776]

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

[776]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

527 342

Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon employed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

● 262 [171]

[2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

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The ritual salutation (*ongami*) was mentioned above, and as it occurs in all ceremonies it should be described. The arms are slightly extended in front, the hands are opposed and rubbed together, mostly backwards and forwards but with a slight sideways motion. They are then separated, with palms upward but at a slight angle. The head is more or less bowed according to the degree of respect implied, and the hands are raised to the brow. They are then brought down with a stroking of the beard or a similar motion. When great respect is to be shown, this may be accompanied by a bowing movement and a backward step. The latter is seen only in the retiring salutation, but a salutation is always made when approaching *kamui*, even if it be only bowing and raising the hands.

576

the bulb of a lily (*Lilium glehni*). Tuberous roots such as *Muk* and *Mukekashi* (*Codonopsis lanceolata and Adenophora verticillata*) were cooked for such an occasion, also chestnuts and water calthrop (Ainu, *Pekambe* or *Peccan*, thing). A wild garlic (*Pukusa*) was used for flavouring as well as medicinally or magically. Various fruits in season, wild grapes, raspberries (*Hat* and *Emauri*), walnuts and others might be used, the two first but rarely.

Of green vegetables from the wilds there is some variety. They were either cooked fresh or dried and kept till required. A skunk cabbage (*Shikerebe-kina*) was plentiful, also the *Petasites Japonicus* (*Koroko-ni*), the young stems and leaves of which were a great resource, either fresh, dried or pickled. This plant sometimes attains a height of about five feet. *Uhuru-kina* (*Hosta Caerulea*) is another favourite vegetable, the stalks of which are pleasant to the taste. —N.G.M.

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782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

● [262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the [273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

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Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam hotkimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

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partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell.

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible.

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near.

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip.

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

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DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight.

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Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

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As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle.

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The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are

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[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M.

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[593]

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764 [576] (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[554] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from [782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse [782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before [262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc., [177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays [178] with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting [273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 264 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a *taphara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the [276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and [537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Renmuikesh says that

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
798 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

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846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[758]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity. Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[25], was one of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch ascending shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader watercourses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1; [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

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226 512 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that [462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 221 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 221 184 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 221 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk. [462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The [184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches [132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers [251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly [262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

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structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature.

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn.

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds

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224 over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished,
221 in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting;
[825] besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp. 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of
[262] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were
[237] partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Jap-
[439] anese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-
[133] grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con-
[361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensis.[33]

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in August (HANDA, 1933, p. 16; ŌNO, 1933, p. 17) or early September (SANO, 1950, p. 16) and ending around October (HANDA, 1933, p. 16; ŌNO, 1933, p. 17). After entering rivers, cherry salmon continue their runs feeding and growing until they become full spawners, so that they go scattering into all tributaries, large and small (IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13) and spawn in the upper reaches (ŌNO, 1933, p. 17; SANO, 1950, p. 16) or uppermost reaches of the streams (HANDA, 1933, p. 16). There is no running up into the glens in the upper reaches of the rivers until breeding begins (oral information from the Chitose Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery, 1957). For the spawning behaviour of cherry salmon, which resembles that of O. keta (SANO, 1950, p. 19), see description in Note 28.

(27) The importance of the dog salmon as food for the Ainu may be illustrated by a record of about 200 Ainus dying from starvation in Ishikari during the winter of 1725 and the following spring after disastrously short salmon runs in the river Ishikari during the autumn (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 301 and Vol. 7, p. 56). Another record shows that in 1884 salmon runs in the middle course of the Tokapchi were so small that the Ainu in that area were on the verge of starvation in February of the following year (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937, pp. 171 and 188).

(28) Concerning spawning behaviour, spawning-beds and spawning grounds.

The spawning behaviour of the dog salmon as described by SANO and NAGASAWA (1958, p. 12) may be summarized as follows. When salmon running in shoals reach favourable spots, they disperse to mate for spawning. The female digs out a cavity in the river bed, while its mate goes round on patrol to keep off any invading males, at times going some distance in driving them off. In about an hour the spawning cavity is ready, and the pair nestle down in it and emit spawn and milt. This over, the female covers up the spawn laid with some gravel from the river bed and finishes the whole work. The covering takes about two hours, during which time the male stays by the bed to protect it from digging by any other individual. Spawning, however, seldom completes in one place; soon after one spawning many individuals begin preparing for another. A second spawning, if any, is performed by the seme[1] pair of fish in a place not far from their first spawning-bed. When everything is over, the female stays about its bed, becoming gradually emaciated until finally it dies.

Observations in the Shiraoi indicate that the parent fish lie in hiding in bank-side deeps during the daytime and come out for spawning between nightfall and daybreak. Unless when running in large shoals or pressed for immediate spawning, they generally spawn by night, most actively near day-

[1] [Errata: the word "seme" should read "same". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

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After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

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The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

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361 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east
133 of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation
for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the
226 Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak,
262 this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and
[361] in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance.
226 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally,
648 also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at
464 the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

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1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

/453 cont./ Next to fish The
225 262 large marine mammals provide the Ainu with their principal foodstuffs, and, to be sure, besides the sea dog /harbor seal/, the sea bear /ursine seal/ (Otaria ursina L.) and sea lions /eared seal/ (O. stelleri Schleg.) (2), whose meat and fat are prized by

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2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 83). Nevel'skoi, Podv. russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 290. (According to Rudanofskij.)

the Ainu no less than that of the sea dog, also play a principal role. Moreover, whales cast up by the sea, which are scorned by the Gilyak, always give the Ainu a desired contribution to their diet (3).

3. See p. 656 ff. above.

If, with regard to the last-named pinnipeds and, as it seems, also the cetaceans, the extreme south of Sakhalin is especially favored, the richest seal-hunting on the part of the Ainu takes place, on the other hand, in the northern part of their territory, in the Gulf of Patience. Not infrequently, therefore, Tymy Gilyak also come [439] to Taraika in order to get seal oil from the Ainu (4). Less essential, 226 262

4. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 115.

but still very important for the Ainu are the foodstuffs in lower animals and seatang bestowed upon them by the sea. As a result [133] of the southern latitudes reached by the meridionally extended

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[133]
island with its southern half, as well as the salt content of the ocean rapidly increasing in proportion to the distance from the Amur-Liman and the /454/ warm Tsu-sima current (a branch of the Kuro-siwo) (1) running from the Straits of Korea to the

[113]

1. Cf. my article, "Strömungsverhältn. im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 25 ff., plus map, Pl. XII).

southern end of Sakhalin, the southern part of the island is far richer in invertebrate marine animals and seatang than the north. And accordingly, the latter, like the former, plays a far greater role among the foodstuffs of the Ainu than among those of the Gilyak. Everything that the sea yields in such products and occasionally casts ashore in great quantities is used by the Ainu for food, especially the large oysters and scallops, an octopus of considerable size (called achkoipa by the Ainu), whose arms are regarded as a special delicacy, sea urchins and starfish, actiniae and
[526]
holothurians, the so-called trepang, and others (2). In order to

2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 97. Dobrotworskij, in the preface to the Ainu dictionary, op. cit., p. 37.

get the trepang and similar animals from the bottom of the sea, the Ainu of Jesso, as the Japanese Rinsifée reported in 1786, are said to have been skilled at diving from the age of ten on (3).

[113]

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese-Chinese by Klaproth, Paris, 1832, p. 229.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection [231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the [171] above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1) --and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

[113]

1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, [251] No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack
179 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

A 262 177 /455 cont./

a little fish and oil, almost the only food (3); clearly indicates

A [466] [648] 3. In that they are paid daily for their work with a few handfuls of rice from the Japanese.

that the Ainu are under the influence of a different culture than the Gilyak.

Gi 226 231 The third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, are, to be sure, chiefly ichthyophagous and, as a consequence of the location of their habitation area along the seacoast, are destined to get their principal food from the sea, but the circumstance that, in addition to the dog, they keep another domestic and draft animal, the reindeer, and by means of it lead a seminomadic life, brings about a not unimportant modification of their food situation in contrast to the Ainu and Gilyak. In the summer and fall, the seasons of the year which the Orok spend on the seacoast to fish and hunt seal and to prepare supplies for the winter, again principally jukola, seal oil, and various berries and roots, their food consists almost exclusively of fish. Poljakof, who spent several weeks during the summer of 1881 among the Orok in the region around the mouth of the Tymy, which they visit annually because of its wealth of fish, described their daily diet during this period of the most active fishing in the following manner: the first meal, taken early in the morning, consists of a fat salmon head (from Salmo lagocephalus); then in the course of the day jukola roasted over the fire follows, with seal oil and fish with various plant accompaniments, such as roots, cedar nuts, and especially berries, which are mixed with finely chopped or even pre-chewed (!) fish; and a fat salmon head again ends the day (4). The nomadic life

Gi [113] 4. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 89).

Gi 262 231 224 The nomadic life of the Orok and the smaller number of dogs satisfying them very considerably lessen their need for winter provisions, and all the